1: Karsten--60 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
152, 609 (1928-29)

„My medicine-bottles for instance seemd [sic] so mysterious to some of the women and children that when I uncorked one of them they were terrified, believing that an iguańchi (evil spirit) would rise from it. When I parted a piece of linen to pay for an object I had bought, the Indians wondered whether I was spreading germs of disease with it. 'And look at that strange black box with the round glass and the bright irons', a woman exclaimed, 'They say that with that box he catches the souls of people, and then they will die. Take care and do not go too near it; who knows what he brings with him? Why has he come here?'

The mysterious box which 'catches the souls of people' was of course my photographic camera. It is a superstition which I have found among all South American Indians who have not yet come into contact with civilization. The first idea occurring to the primitive Indian mind seems to be that something comes out from the mysterious box when it functions, with the consequence that the person towards whom it is directed may die on the spot. Still I usually succeeded in overcoming the Indian fear of the camera, but one had always to be careful. Shortly after my arrival at Shakaĕma's house I made my host pose before my camera holding the tsantsa, the principal object of the coming feast, in his hand; a nice forest knife which I presented him had put an end to his hesitation. The photograph was taken, but when I turned round to enter the

house, I found one of his sons standing on the threshold with a rifle in his hand, ready to shoot me if something should happen to his father."

l: Karsten--65 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152, 628 (1928-29)

"Two other incidents during the feast, which in their way illustrate the suspiciousness of the Jibaro Indians and their warlike character, may be mentioned. One day an Indian woman, the wife of one of the guests, arrived in the house quite excited and related that in the morning she had found mysterious footprints in the vicinity of the family's house. It was supposed that these footprints were those of enemy Jibaros who wished to find out the state of things in the house, for the purpose of making an attack against it later on. The owner of the house at once went home with his wife to take defensive measures.

A few days later some Indians brought other news which aroused still more sensation. A Jibaro Indian from the same district had been attacked the day before in his home by one of his enemies who wished to take blood-revenge on him. A fight had ensued, which had ended in both Indians being left dead on the spot. The question now arose whether the relatives of the Indian attacked should take revenge upon the nearest relatives of the attacking Indian. The indignation of the Indians was great, and it was decided that the blood-feud should be continued. On my return journey I heard of this incident, and the way in which the new blood-revenge should be carried out was the general subject of conversation in every house I visited."

1: Karsten--87 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152 (1928-29)

"The independent and arrogant character of the Jibaro Indian also shows itself in his bearing, gestures, and his manner of speech, and makes him seem taller than he really is."

1: Karsten--87-88 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 142, 152 (1928-29)

"His proportionately built and well-developed body bears witness to the mobile life he leads and the continual physical culture to which he subjects himself from very childhood, just as his vivid look radiates that intelligence and energy which is one of his chief mental characteristics. At the same time his whole personality and his vehement speech and gestures give expression to those strong emotions and passions [88] which have made the Jibaro Indians famous and which they have especially shown in relation to their enemies."

"It has generally been assumed that among the majority of savage races the sexual instinct is very strongly developed and 'sexual life carried on very intensely' (1) and this generalizing statement is naturally meant to apply to the savages of the New World also. My own impression is that this assertion at any rate does not hold true of the Indians of South America, and particularly not of the tribes with which I am concerned here. When a Jibaro Indian has caught a woman whom he particularly likes, it is natural that at first he gives vent to his passion for her, and he may then have intercourse with her even several times during a night. But excesses of this kind are by no means the general rule among the Jibaros, who on the whole do not indulge in sexual relations more than most white people do, rather less. There is in fact on this point a notable difference between the whites and the mestizos on the one hand and the Indians on the other. The Jibaro Indian's capability of exercising control over himself in the sexual domain is shown by his readiness to submit himself to the prohibition of sexual intercourse during more or less protracted periods. We have already seen the Indians observing

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"1. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, I.495 (quoting Malinowsky). Dr. Malinowsky calls his own book, where one single Melanesian tribe is treated of, 'The Sexual Life of Savages.'"

sexual abstinence on many occasions, and other similar instances will presently be mentioned. To the Ecuadorian white or mestizo such control over himself would certainly be impossible."

1: Karsten--222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 574 (1928-29)

"I have stated before that jealousy is not particularly characteristic of the Jibaro women who are the co-wives of the same man, which may in part be due to the fact that in many cases they are sisters or near relatives. Unfortunately the same cannot be said of the Jibaro men, who generally are very jealous of their wives. The jealousy of the Jibaro men forms part of their general suspiciousness and treacherous character. They can never trust a visiting guest who, even when he seemingly comes as a friend, may nevertheless nourish evil designs, trying to bewitch the women with the evil eye or to seduce them with his love charms. If the Jibaro Indian has found, or believes he has found, his suspicions confirmed, he is terrible in his revenge, and this revenge turns not only against the supposed seducer but also easily against his own wife."

1: Karsten--247 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 576, 609, 302, 152 (1928-29)

"It is easy to see that behind the strict Indian 'etiquette' and the apparent courtesy there is a good deal of the suspiciousness and distrust which these savages generally entertain towards one another. An Indian, seemingly coming as a friend, may in reality be a foe plotting evil; above all his bewitching secret 'arrows' are feared. He may for instance look upon women and children with an evil eye and thus make them fall ill and die. I have already mentioned that witchery is sometimes carried out through the facial painting which the Indian always applies before entering a strange house. Facial painting may serve different ends. Since it is considered to give the body strength, it is regarded as indispensable for every Indian marching in the forest or engaged in any kind of work, and it is therefore looked upon as perfectly natural that a visiting Indian should have a painted face. But nobody can know what kind of face-painting it is; it may be, for instance, the particular kind which acts as a love charm, in which case the visitor may have the seduction of the women in view; Indian custom therefore requires that when the hostess offers the clay dish of manioc-beer to the guest she immediately turns her back to him. At any rate she does so when her husband is present, since the Jibaro men jealously watch their wives at such times."

1: Karsten--251 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 577, 177, 152 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with the honesty characteristic of the Jibaro Indian in his natural state is his faithfulness to his word. When I engaged the Indians to carry my baggage, I usually paid them in advance, so-and-so many yards of linen for a journey of so-and-so many days. When the Indians had received the payment this amounted to an engagement, and I could as a rule be sure that they would keep it and be ready to start on the day fixed for the journey. If for some reason, for instance owing to sickness, the Indian was unable to start, he returned the linen paid to him in advance. In this respect, however, the savage Jibaros were much more reliable than the 'Christian' Canelos Indians. The former never failed to fulfil their promises, whereas on the other hand the latter deceived me in at least one case, and I was told that other travellers had had similar experiences. Honesty and good faith are among those natural virtues which the Indians easily lose through contact with civilization.

Such at any rate is the Indian's morality in relation to a person who has his confidence. I do not think that truthfulness is generally a social virtue he displays in dealing with his fellow-tribesmen. The continual wars carried on between the tribes through the centuries, the necessity for the Jibaro Indian always to be on the alert against the evil designs of open or secret enemies, has naturally made him more or less treacherous and inclined to dissimulation. The Jibaro Indian may be frank and sincere to the person he trusts, but of persons whom he does not know he is suspicious, and persons whom he regards as his enemies he will deceive in the most deliberate way."

1: Karsten--256 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
152, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro woman, owing to her characteristic industry and intelligence, well deserves the influential position she has in the group. Being of a calm and quiet disposition, she forms a beneficent contrast to her impulsive, passionate, and revengeful husband. Thus, as appears from what I have stated before, the women are natural arbitrators in the family, and when at the feasts the men get drunk and show fight, the women part them and deprive them of their weapons, frequently preventing in this way further calamities. On the other hand it must be added that this peaceful attitude is not maintained towards the enemies of the family and tribe. When the punishment of blood-guiltiness, e.g. --the murder of a son or a husband--is in question, they appear just as revengeful as the men and even excite them to take vengeance."

1: Karsten--264
116, 152, 181, 722

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"All these precautions in their way illustrate the almost maniacal suspiciousness and dread of enemies which dominates the Jibaros. The mere discovery of mysterious footprints in the neighbourhood of the house, left by unknown Indians who apparently have gone sneaking about at night, may cause an indescribable excitement in the inhabitants. The footprints are carefully examined for the sake of ascertaining from what tribe they originate, message is sent to neighbouring houses, where further inquiries are made. 'We have found such and such footprints near our house, they are not like the feet of anybody from our own tribe, no one of our relations walks in that way, they must originate from strangers, may be of that and that tribe. Have you noticed anything exciting suspicion in the neighbourhood of your house or seen any strange Indians?', and so forth. Assuming that the mysterious footprints might possibly have been left by enemy spies who are planning an attack against the house, the inhabitants continue their inquiries with the energy that the Jibaros generally display when an important enterprise is in question, and take measures of defence."

l: Karsten--269 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 578, 721, 627 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to the suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1: Karsten--271-272 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775, 152, 627, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother, or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brotners or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc. --we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

l; Karsten--463
152

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"...wailing is not limited to the days immediately after death, but is repeated now and then for a long time afterwards, when in one way or another the woman is reminded of her loss. She may suddenly interrupt her work to abandon herself for some moments to an outburst of sorrow, crying loudly and repeating some of the phrases just mentioned. It seems that the arrival of a stranger at the house in particular causes her to repeat the wailing, and a visitor often gets the impression that the crying is a way of welcoming him. One of the guests--so the Jibaro women have explained the matter to me--may remind her in some way of her deceased husband and thus awake in her the sorrow and longing for her dead husband. Or, she recollects how her husband used to receive such gusts. [sic] 'If he had lived now, his first act would have been to call me to bring them manioc-beer.' Such associations of ideas are quite characteristic of the Indian woman. Her wailing after the death of a beloved relative therefore cannot be explained as merely an empty ceremony; it is undoubtedly partly an expression of genuine sorrow, showing the same capability of tender feelings as appears in the lyric poetry of the Indians, for instance in the songs addressed to the birds in connection with certain feasts."

2: Stirling--42 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 152, 609

"When Benavente first encountered the Jivaros he found them thoroughly belligerent and described them as being the most insolent and independent of all of the natives that he had ever seen in the Indies. It is likely that word of Benavente's harsh treatment of some of the Indians bordering on the Jivaro country had preceded him. The fact that he attempted to capture some of the first Jivaros that he saw by setting dogs on them did nothing to assist in attaining for him a friendly reception.

A few years later, when Juan de Salinas first penetrated the Jivaro country and established his colonies, he found the Jivaros a friendly and docile people. He repeatedly contrasts their friendliness and domesticity with the fierce, warlike nature of the tribes encountered in the highlands."

2: Stirling--99 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 826, 152

"The Jivaros are as a rule vain of their personal appearance. In this respect the men rather outdo the women. The Jivaro idea of what constitutes good looks does not differ radically from our own. An athletic physique for men and well-rounded contours for women are admired, as are regular features for both sexes.

Long dark hair is desired and this is a feature which almost all possess."

3: Simson--386-387 (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 595, 152, 837

"Polygamy is frequently met with among the Jívaros, but I have not heard of wives being exchanged, as the late professor Orton, in his work on these territories, says is the case. On the contrary, this tribe--and, I am authoritatively informed, also the [387] other hordes observe the same practice--is of all Amazonian Indians probably the most jealous of its women; and very frequently not only are these not allowed to talk to strangers, but, with Oriental exclusiveness, not even to show themselves, a custom remarkably opposed to the habits of the Záparos, Cotos, Canelos, Oregones of the Putumayo, and Nilsayas of the Japurá. At Pintuc it was notorious that an old Jívaro named Huilijinda, who lived close by on the banks of the Pastassa, killed one of the six wives he possessed, for inconstancy. "

3: Simson--390 [2] (No date) 1880 Jivaro
116, 152

"The Canelos are not so jealous of their women as the true Jívaros and the Napos; but retain the valour of the former, and are always ready to face wild animals, or to defend themselves bravely against the attacks of the Jívaros bravos who wometimes fall upon them, and on which occasions they ally with the Indians of the Pintuc and Sarayacu, the latter a village further down the Bobonaza."

4: Up de Graff--193-194 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 301, 555

"They are singularly free from the love of personal adornment which is a characteristic of nearly all savage and semi-savage people. Indeed there is only one orna[194]-ment which they wear, a small tuft of toucan or stork feathers fastened to the lobe of the ear. Furthermore these are worn but infrequently, that is to say for battle or on the occasion of great festivals; finally, the wearing of these feathers is a sure sign of the owner's prowess in the hunt, for to kill either bird with their only means of bringing down game, the blow-gun, is proof of great skill and strength; the toucan always lives among the topmost branches of tall trees and the stork is equally shy; we could never approach within 500 yards of the latter."

4: Up de Graff--196-197 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 624, 152, 574

"To take up the tale; we had not to wait more than an hour for the arrival of the chief, a fat, sleek, cunning-looking old thief, who greeted me as his Christian brother and produced a small piece of paper, carefully protected from the elements by a palm leaf, on which was written in ink the name 'Lázaro.' He professed to have been baptized by a Jesuit priest at Macas(where we were destined to go ourselves within a few months). The holy water certainly never penetrated his skin, for to the end of his days he was a shameless rascal, no better than the rest of his kind.

His arrival saved the situation, however, for he spoke Inca (known among the Jívaros as 'the white man's language,' curiously enough, the reason being that it is spoken at all the points of contact between the savage tribes and the outposts of civilization). We always imagined that he owed his chieftainship to the fact that he had lived with the priests, and, later, answered the call of the wild, returning with a wider knowledge of the world than any of his fellows possessed.

He was full of interest concerning our movements. Where had we come from? What were we looking for? Where were we going? Had we any companions, and, if so, where were they? We were subjected to a brisk catechism. Well, we told him we were looking for gold, that we were going up the Santiago (known among the Indians as the Pauts), that we had a camp just below the Pongo, and, above all things, that our camp was one vast treasure-house of presents, such as those we had had the pleasure of giving to his subjects. Indeed, it was a source of great sorrow to us that, owing to the bad going in

the Pongo, we should be unable to bring them up...a pity, for they were certainly a very fine col[197]lection.....No, no efforts of ours could overcome the difficulties of navigation in the cañon, with so many heavy dugouts laden with merchandise destined to enrich his people...Yes, a great pity, for we had brought them up from many moons distance expressly for this purpose, having heard of them from other and lesser peoples who trembled at their name.

Pressed to stay with him as the guests of the tribe before returning, we accepted, lamenting once more that we should be unable to give them some small recompense for their generous hospitality, as our stores were irremediably shut off by the Pongo.

After inspecting their huts, we decided that a small island which lay opposite the settlement would suit us better. It was not that their houses were vermin-ridden. On the contrary, like all naked savages who live in the tropics, they are kept far cleaner than those who have to go clothed, by their frequent immersions in the rivers and by the cleansing action of the sun and rain on their skins."

4: Up de Graff--197-198 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 753, 152

"While preparing our canoe to cross to our new home, Game happened to pull up his trousers to scratch a bite. His leg was a mass of old scars made by the constant scratching of sand-fly and mosquito bites during the first weeks of our expedition. Many of them had been reopened and were infected, the result being a nasty mess resembling a rash. One sight of his leg, and a general stampede set in. The whole tribe disappeared. In a moment it became clear to us that they feared the small-pox scourge.

It was with the greatest difficulty that I persuaded the chief to return to within a few yards, from which distance he could be shown that Game was not a victim of the disease; we had to make a long practical demonstration to convince him, but at last he summoned his [198] people to return and we made across to the island."

4: Up de Graff--224-225 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152

"The Jívaros are credited by those who have never come into personal contact with them, with many a virtue of which they are entirely innocent. Contrary to what is generally supposed, these untamed sons of the forest are a compendium of all that is cunning, knavish, and diabolical; they have the courage of wild animals in battle, [225] but unlike the latter, their guiding principle is 'every man for himself.' The truth is not in them. Their attempts at understanding the psychology of the white man are even more puerile than were those of the Germans in the Great War. A totally unenlightened race, they must be controlled by fear and superstition."

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 484, 427, 152

"Meanwhile, the bulk of the gathering of Antipas had melted away, leaving only the wise minority, who saw something in the shape of a big haul coming when we turned the bows of our dugouts up the Santiago. Clearly we should leave behind us nine-tenths of our purchases, and the harvest would be rich for those who were there to gather it. (Old 'Pete' had probably warned them to be ready at midnight on our first night out.) Perhaps the bulk of the remainder watched us from the seclusion of the woods as we pushed off, as they hoped, in all innocence.

'Sept. 29th. Having finally satisfied the Antipas, by [242] means of our presents, that we are friendly disposed toward them, and closed the deal with the crew by handing them out their axes, we are due to start at mid-day to-day. 'Pete' and his men are obviously well satisfied with the business they have done. It is quite clear that they contemplate leaving us to-night with much relish.'

About five o'clock that evening we sighted a sand-bar for the first time since entering the Santiago...

That night it fell to Pedro to mount guard from sun-down till midnight. Long ago we had given our time-pieces away to the Antipas up the Maranon, for they were useless impediments. By the time each man of us had jumped overboard half a dozen times to save a paddle, a war-bag, or Ambusha, they were not much use except as presents. In the last-named capacity they were handed out to 'Lázaro,' Pitacunca, and one or two other important gentlemen. The original recipients kept the cases, which they hung

around their necks, and distributed the wheels to their less favoured fellows.

During that watch of his Pedro had no peace. Every few minutes the siege would be renewed. With smiling faces our friends would beg for a canoe to cross the river for one of a hundred purposes, urging reasons which were apparently so pressing as not to allow of even waiting till dawn. They had heard a troupe of night monkeys on the other bank; they had spotted a fine log for the fire five hundred yards down-stream (always down-stream!); they thought it would be a good idea to have some fish for breakfast; they were sure that the turtles would be out on the other end of the sand-spit, and they could approach noiselessly in a canoe...[243] and so on, until Pedro called me up in despair. I kept them quiet with a long story about the dangers of going off alone in the dark, with the possibility of a Huambiza surprise at any moment. I treated them in the only way possible, like children, meeting them on their own ground. Neither I nor Pitacunca believed our own words, much less those of the other. But the game of bluff had to be played out, like any other game, and the hardest bluffer won. So passed the first of a series of such nights, always the same farce had to be staged; endless machinations met by endless argument. At length, after four or five nights had passed in this fashion without any success being attained, it dawned on the Indians that other tactics must be adopted if they were (in the language of sport) to make a get-away. They began to fall sick, and with remarkable ingenuity discovered that the waters of the Santiago brought on all manner of ills, from loss of appetite, by way of general debility, to heart-failure.

4: Up de Graff--241-243 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-3
116, 484, 427, 152

Still we persisted, keeping them at the paddles after the fashion of galley-slave drivers. They were by this time a miserable, dejected crowd, keeping any way on the canoes, complaining of their ills, and bemoaning the certain death that awaited them if they continued."

4: Up de Graf--243-244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 484, 152, 787

"On the eighth day the climax came. We sighted an island, which seemed to be ideal for pitching camp, and put into shore with the intention of deciding once and for all, what we were going to do with those treacherous and demoralized creatures who moaned and babbled between every half-dozen strokes of the paddle. But we were not destined to play an active part in the settlement of the problem, after all, for no sooner had we landed and lain down to rest than Pitacunca, by virtue of his high office, had resort to the never-failing hayahuasca (bitter wine--Inca). The plant is the means by which the medicine men of the Upper Amazon throw them[244]selves into a trance (in reality a state of drunken semi-torpor) from the depths of which they utter prophetic statements which are received with as much reverence as were ever those of the Sybil. Their power for good or evil is thus unlimited, for they pour forth their visions to a spell-bound audience which hangs on every word."

4: Up de Graff--244 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 787, 152

"That night Pitacunca was determined to go no further. He drank his hayahuasca with his 'prophecy' prepared. Within a minute he was rolling about on the ground, groaning, vomiting, sighing, and wailing out his awful warning to a concourse of terror-stricken individuals, who wished they had never been such fools as to venture up the Santiago for the sake of a shining axe.

'Your homes are on fire and your families fleeing through the woods,' wailed Pitacunca, his voice rising above the moans of his audience; 'the Huambizas have taken off half your wives into captivity; but far worse than all the Huambiza devils in the Santiago valley, comes the news to your fugitive children that they are running from their attacks only to be stricken down with smallpox that walks abroad among our people (renewed groans); hungry and homeless, they know not where to turn (a positive hurricane of wailing); black ruin and death await you all, if you return not to stem the tide of disaster.'

With a final long-drawn-out sigh, Pitacunca ceased. But he had done his work. Panic ran riot in the camp. Muttering and whimpering, the Antipas ran hither and thither at the bidding of the drunken old fraud who professed to be their protector. We saw that it was useless to expect to get another minute's work out of them. Pitacunca, with an invincible superstition at his back, had won the day."

4: Up de Graff--253-254 (1897) 1923 Alvaro-1
116, 484, 152, 726

"Next morning we started. All day long we sat and watched the great rhythmic strokes of the paddles, as the canoes flew along. Our escort was composed of some two hundred men of the Aguarunas and Antipas, evidently two parties which, finding each other bent on a common mission (which needs no explanation) had joined hands. By day they mingled so that there was no distinguishing the two parties, but by night they camped apart, suspicious, probably, of each other for they are natural enemies. Each carried with him a new loin-cloth, a rouge-pot, feather ear-ornaments, a sáparo (rattan basket --Inca) of giamanchi, a spear, and a half gourd for a drinking-cup. Some had blow-guns with them also. They were for the most part naked. They were an impressive-looking crowd, and they took very little notice of us white men, with the exception of their chiefs with whom we had all our dealings.

The first day, everything seemed to go swimmingly. In the late afternoon we drew up on a sand-bar and pitched camp. Tuhuimpui volunteered to provide the game throughout the journey, and he certainly made a good start that day. He advised us not to use our rifles for hunting, as they might carry news of our whereabouts to the Muambisas, which seemed to us fair enough. We had our choice of supper from a great pile of game of all kinds--turkeys, pheasants, monkeys and wild hogs, principally--and selected what we wanted [254] before the rest was removed from before our tent. After supper, the chief came along with a basin-full of giamanchi; we were to drink deep of the comforting preparation and sleep in peace, while the Indians kept watch all night! To escape from

this doubtful blessing, I mixed a cup of condensed milk as a counter offer. If there is one thing which a Jívaro abhors it is canned food in any shape or form. The trick worked, for no more was said of drinks that night.

And how could he be expected--I went on, after disposing of the giamanchi difficulty--to find the guard all night, and leave us to sleep in slothful ease? Surely to this we could never consent. We would do our fair share. Indeed he must warn his men not to approach to within fifty yards of our camp, for our sentries would fire on suspicion--and who could distinguish between enemy and friend at night? In the common cause we must take half the burden on our shoulders, and we must carry it well. Too much care could not be taken now that we were so near the enemy, and what a disaster it would be if in our zeal we killed some of our own friends! No, there was no getting away from the fact that they must be very careful not to approach our bivouac at night."

4: Up de Graff--275 [2] (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 152, 727

"It seems superfluous to mention that these people, like all cowards, are absolutely devoid of pity. However, they do not indulge in the worst habit of the old North American Indians, that of torturing their prisoners."

4: Up de Graff--285-286 (1897) 1923 Jivaro-1
116, 727, 152, 484

"We were by this time ourselves the object of many a greedy pair of eyes. Those battle-heated savages were in a nasty temper. They were becoming bolder every minute, approaching in groups of five or six in an attempt to borrow our rifles and not always remembering to leave their spears behind them even then. One who was too persistent in his desire to disarm Jack received the butt-end of his Winchester full in his chest, an incident that did not tend to smooth matters over. We were rapidly losing our self-control, much as we wanted to avoid another massacre. There was a lull in the trouble however, when Tuhuimpui came up to pow-wow, still insisting that he 'thought it would be as well if each of us captained a Jívaro dugout, at intervals throughout the long column, to inspire his men with confidence. Our prestige was very great, our power greater. We could save them [286] from disaster, should the Huambizas give chase. We should be a tower of strength to them in the gathering darkness.' All this was highly complimentary, but of course merely served to conceal the crafty designs of that smooth-tongued old scoundrel who coveted our heads and our outfit.

If we were to avoid a rupture of diplomatic relations we must walk carefully. With infinite patience, then, through a conversation lasting, perhaps, a quarter of an hour, I persuaded Tuhuimpui that the most we could do would be for four of us to go two and two, while the fifth took a third canoe. Scarcely veiling his disappointment but forced to give way before our determination not to be massacred singly, he went off at last, and gave the necessary orders. Had we been all separated, doubtless at a given signal, the crew

of each of our canoes would have capsized their craft, themselves diving with their spears, and precipitating us and our Winchesters into the water, where the Jívaros are as much at home as on land, but where our arms would be at a great disadvantage. In a moment we should have been stuck like common paichi."

10: Anthony--150 (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 152, 181

"...there exists constant warfare in the land of the Jivaro, where the two powerful, primal passions prevail, struggle for woman and thirst for vengeance."

10: Anthony--158 [2] (1920-21) 1921 Jivaro
116, 152

"The Jivaros have the reputation of being rather cowardly. As far as open warfare is concerned, the experience of the whites who have lived among them has been that the Indian will not dare to attack the white man under any conditions that approximate equal combat. As an instance, I was told of a Spaniard who lived among the Jivaros for a number of years in a rather remote locality where he was far separated from any other whites. He early incurred the enmity of the Indians and, as he was harsh in his dealings with them, it was not long before he was a marked man. On several occasions parties of the Jivaros attempted a raid against him, having first consulted their 'devil' as to the propitiousness of the opportunity, but it would seem that the Spaniard as well must have been on intimate terms with the devil for he learned each time of the projected attack and killed so many of the Jivaros that the parties fled. By means of this bold front he was able to more than hold his own with them for a great many years, but eventually he so far relaxed as to hand over his gun to one of his Jivaros to carry while he went on ahead, and the Jivaro promptly made the most of the unexpected opportunity."

12: Rivet--]
116, 141, 152

, the Jíbaro represents the most handsome and most robust Indian type that
Physicallyn the Republic of Ecuador. Their fiery manner, even arrogance, makes
I have seen bigger than their brothers of the Sierra. In reality, this is simply an il-
them appearnose that I have met were of small stature and the two individuals that I
lusion, for th respectively 1^{m} 63 and 1^{m} 59 (1) (fig. 3). Their body is in general very
studied wereed; the muscles of the limbs give an impression of suppleness and of
well developheir skin is light brown (2) (no. 22 according to my two subjects by the chro-
strength. Tof Broca). The cephalic index according to my measurements was 82.0 for
matic scale for the other. Their craniums would therefore be classified among the sub-
one and 84. lic.
brachycepha

two Jíbaros came to Riobamba from the region of Macas. The complete

1. These nts that I took on them will be studied later.
measuremen

2. A gres t many authors have pointed out the clear tint of the Jíbaros and the presence
of the beard among a certain number of them, characteristics that they have attributed
to the mistu res resulting from the abductions of the white women from Logroño and
Sevilla de O ro. The same remark has been made about the Ayulis (Vargas, op. cit.).
I have not as scertained the fact from any of the individuals that I have examined.

12: Rivet--605 [2]
116, 574, 562, 152

(no date) 1907

Jívaro

When the Jíbaro women come with their husbands to visit a white man, he is not permitted to talk to them, under the pretext that "they are not worth the trouble". Besides, they don't know any Spanish. When a friend of the tribe comes to the house, they never take part in the conversation; they do not approach a group of men except to bring chicha; if by chance the husband questions them, they answer right from the kitchen. The visitor does not greet them and pays no attention to them.

This contempt on the part of the Jíbaro men does not, however, exclude great jealousy, a sentiment which distinguishes them from their neighbors, the Zaparoe. Simson reports that at Pintuc it was public knowledge that an old Indian who lived on the bank of the Pastaza had killed one of his six wives for infidelity. (1)

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1. Simson, op. cit., page 387.

12: Rivet--606 (no date) 1907 Jivaro
116, 683, 152, 583

A young man can stay under the paternal roof as long as he wishes, his mother serving him in the same way as she does his father. This period is for him a time of unrestraint and sometimes of crime. He dares all, making love without scruple to all the women that he meets, and his lack of conscience goes so far, according to certain travellers, as to kill his sister's husband so as to be able to give the young widow to a friend of his own choice. In other words, in certain tribes, particularly at Gualaquiza, it is not the father but the brother who gives his sister in marriage and with no other formality than his acquiescence, the fiance takes away the one he has chosen.

12: Rivet--615-616 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

It would seem that among the people where the state of war is, so to speak, permanent, bravery should be the dominant virtue. In reality, there is none of it, because the Jívaro rarely attacks openly. If he is acting alone, with the patience of a deer in hiding, he waits for his enemy hidden behind the trunk of a tree and pierces him from behind with a blow of his lance. But more often the Indians work in bands of fifty individuals at least and sometimes of a hundred or more, and in this case the whole plan consists of falling unexpectedly on [616] the adversary or surprising him in the middle of his sleep, or even better in the middle of a drunken feast; it does not cost the Indian anything to gain his end while exposing himself as little as possible. He shows an extraordinary endurance during these expeditions, sometimes very long and far away. For instance, the tribes from around Macas sometimes make incursions on the Kandoshis which necessitate an absence of three months, although the greatest part of the trip is made in canoes by the Kangaimi, Morona and Cetuchi Rivers. The missionaries speak even of expeditions of the same people against the Patucamayas of the lower Santiago, or the Huambisas of the lower Morona. (1) Almost all the journey is made by night marches through dense forests, with their food reduced to minimum. Often, in order not to leave traces, they follow the bed of a stream, down which they swim for whole leagues. They never advance in any case without being preceded by scouts. (2)

1. Coleccion de las cartas, etc. op. cit. carta sexta, note on page 63-64.
2. Vacas Galindo. Nankijukima, op.cit., page 166.

8: Dickey--201 [2] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 152, 114

"The tribes...are referred to, in the writings of certain intrepid explorers, as Head Hunters. The usual picture is that of a sinister, bloodthirsty tribe, who as an outdoor sport dash off into the woods, grabbing innocent Indians whose heads they remove and shrink, with all the manifestations of ghoulish glee. And all this without rhyme or reason.

The Jivaros--and I must use this name with which they've been baptized--are neither sinister nor bloodthirsty. I base this conclusion on a relationship with them of nearly nineteen years' duration. On the contrary, they are hospitable and humble."

12: Rivet--616-617 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 721, 152

So courage is replaced here by the cleverness of a cat which glides and bounds upon its defenceless prey. On each expedition, only two or four houses are attacked because the aggressors know that they must have twenty to twenty-five people in order to surround a house and not let anyone escape. If the band arrives in the proximity of the place where it expects to operate without having been discovered, it waits until the second half of the night and when everyone is asleep, the assault is made: sticks with one sharpened end and the other wrapped in dry leaves carefully tied and lighted make huge flaming arrows, which set the straw roofs on fire. (1) When the surprise is well carried out, the besieged people, before they have time even to defend themselves, stifled by the smoke, fall before the lances of the assailants. Only the young women are spared. Taken into captivity, they become the wives of the conquerors. Children are also sometimes spared: they are kept as I have already said, for a more cruel death, under the unskilled blows of the children of the victorious tribe. Fire completes the work of pillage; the plunder-laden group, pushing before them the [617] unhappy captives, sisters, daughters and wives of the warriors whose bloody heads swing sinisterly on the shoulders of the conquerors, flees in all haste before the sun rises; the same precautions are taken as when they came in order to avoid an attack by the relatives or allies of the victors.

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1. Bulletin Salesiane, August 1896, page 197.

12: Rivet--618 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 152, 721

One can easily see what unusual characteristics this constant state of hostility gives the life of the Jívaro, and what an unusual mentality it has created in him. One understands equally well what importance the disappearance of these bloody fights has for the future of the race.

20: Dyott--167-168
116, 152, 828, 224

(no date) 1926

Jivaro-1

"Whether it was the success of our hunt, or the chance meeting with Napi, we could not say, but Kuashu was obviously pleased with the morning's work. The stranger remained with us, and on returning home, he was treated with unusual consideration. There was quite a change in the general atmosphere of the house when we got back, and we noted that Mihanda was a different mortal to what he had been earlier in the day. He acted as if a weight had been removed from his chest. His spear was finished and his friends regarded its well-shaped lines with approval.

There was a real reason for this change of manner on Mihanda's part which needs explanation. The Jivaro finds it difficult to distinguish between himself and his [168] personal belongings. Everything he uses or makes, particularly weapons, are regarded as part of himself, and in the making of them, he instils much of his own personality. So strongly ingrained is this feeling that the making of an ordinary spear (nanki) is accompanied by a certain amount of ritual. He must eat only certain foods, his thoughts must not be disturbed by conversation with others, he must not live with his wife. If he does these things, then the spear will be worthless and he himself may die. Even the chonta wood from which spears are made is regarded with superstition. They believe that this palm, with its formidable spikes, is the abode of a very potent spirit, so that a spear made from it inspires both man and beast with fear. This intimate tie between man and his material belongings is very strong, but between members of a

family the bond is infinitely stronger. If Mihanda had been sick, then his wife and brothers would abstain from eating certain foods, for if they partook of them, it would harm the patient just as much as if he himself had done so."

22: Hamy--389 [2] (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 152, 181

"Morally, the Jivaro add to their bellicosity a courage which meets every test, and a remarkable cunning. Their character is indomitable, and they maintain above all else their love of independence."

25: Vigna--36 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 141, 152

The Jíbaro, barbarous and savage as the forest of which he feels incontestable king, is born and bred in a constant fight against the untoward elements of atmosphere, climate, marvellous tropical vegetation and under brush, and the innumerable adversities of nature. He is physically very well-developed, and though not very tall (1.60-1.70 m.), he is robust, muscular and well-proportioned. In bearing he is noble and haughty.

25: Vigna--43 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 562, 302, 152

The Jíbaro woman does not paint her face, except on rare occasions and in a grotesque form. This is not done in an artistic manner as in the case of the man for whom the color, besides having an esthetic value, is a means of warding off witchcraft. The Jíbaro woman ordinarily does not care for her person, but goes about disheveled and slovenly. She pierces her lower lip and introduces into it a small reed. In general, the Jíbaro woman is very sullen and more savage than the man. Her laugh is very loud and uncontrolled (sonora y desmañada).

29: Wigma--47 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 192

The Jíbaros, who are truly savages, sacrifice all on the altar of the god of their stomach or on the altar of their passions. King of the forest and absolute master of his liberty, the Jíbaro does not know restraints of law or of any authority.

25: Vigna--47-48 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 152

At first sight it appears that [48] the Jîbaro suffers pain and death with stoicism; and while it is true that he is courageous in sickness or any ailment, he is very much affected by moral pain.

29: Vigna--48 (no date) 1949 Jivaro
116, 152, 764

When a child dies, a sentiment approximating madness takes possession of the mother; she pulls her hair and very nearly tears it out by the roots. I have assisted in a case of maternal pain caused by the death of a son, in which desperation was so acute that she would have hanged herself had she not been stopped. With hair covering her face, she cries, shrieks and screams with a grief that is moving.

26: Brüning--50 [3] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 762

The Indians are very sensitive with regard to both kind actions and insults. During our trip down the Marañón we found a grave, not very old, in the house of the Curaca Laichape in Huaracaiyo. When we inquired, we were told that this was the final resting place of one of the wives of the Curaca: she had hanged herself a short time ago because her drunken husband had slapped her in the face. A rubber collector told us of a similar case that had happened a few months earlier at another place.

26: Brüning-- 50 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 152, 177

The whites regard the Indians as treacherous and revengeful... But I have heard of instances where rubber collectors made use of the Indians to eliminate burdensome competitors in the rubber business. Persons who are not familiar with all the facts will, of course, raise their voices against the Indian treachery. However, I am inclined to believe that the Indians are fond of this type of business, since there is innate in them something of a bloodthirsty tiger, and their animal instincts can be easily provoked. The whites, too, are guilty in this respect since they did equip the Indians with modern shooting arms. I have not been in a single native house where I did not find at least a few Winchester repeating rifles (latest model type!). These modern weapons in the hand of the Indians constitute a two-edged sword, as we learned in the year 1904.

28: Tessman--343 [5] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 142, 152

The Aguaruna man on Plate 61 is a fairly typical representative of his tribe. The soft, almost feminine features and the sweet smile are in diametrical contrast to the blood-thirsty character of the Chiwaros.

The Indian photographed--his name is Sanchuma--has perpetrated a number of murders.

29: Vité--16 (1934) 1935 Jívaro
116, 136, 152

In this region where the rays of the sun scarcely penetrate, the road is rough and difficult, and there are nests of thousands and thousands of poisonous reptiles from which one must defend himself as best he can. Here lives the Jíbaro, the savage of the Ecuadorian forest, physically beautiful with a masculine and imposing beauty, congenial in aspect and at the same time terrible because he does not accept domestication.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

183 182 128 can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunul, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be 794 the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekás* wakanl, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[8]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. [196] The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl [787] is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has [154] been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be [761] killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is [164] not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[9] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession [152] is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, [154] including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, [761] and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do [562] not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that [628] intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

[857] A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Ac- [788] companied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred [718] waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a [785] few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander [876] about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

794 787 If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly